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AUTHOR:

THUCYDIDES

TITLE:

TWO ORATIONS IN PRAISE OF ATHENIANS

PLACE:

LONDON

DATE:

1759

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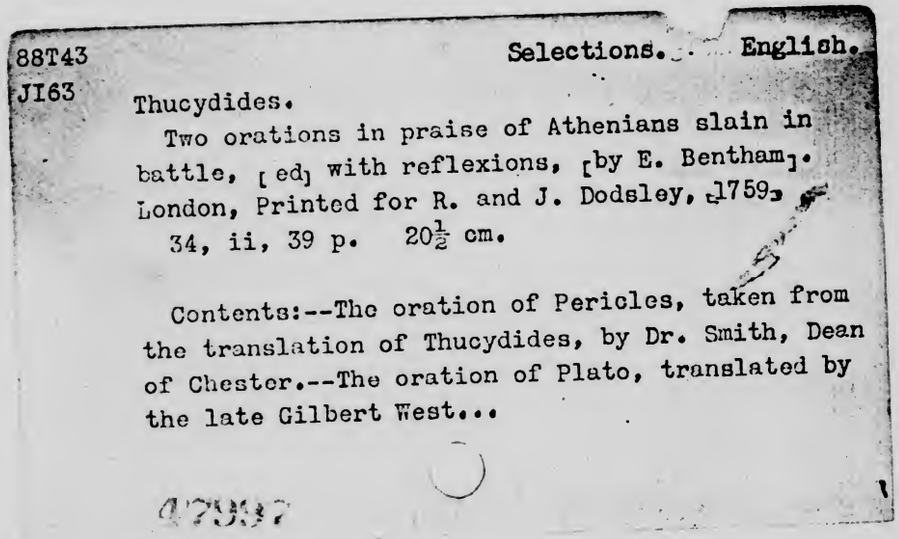

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Selections. English.

Thucydides.
Two orations in praise of Athenians slain in battle, [ed] with reflexions, [by E. Bentham].
London, Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, 1759.
34, ii, 39 p. 20½ cm.

Contents:--The oration of Pericles, taken from the translation of Thucydides, by Dr. Smith, Dean of Chester.--The oration of Plato, translated by the late Gilbert West...

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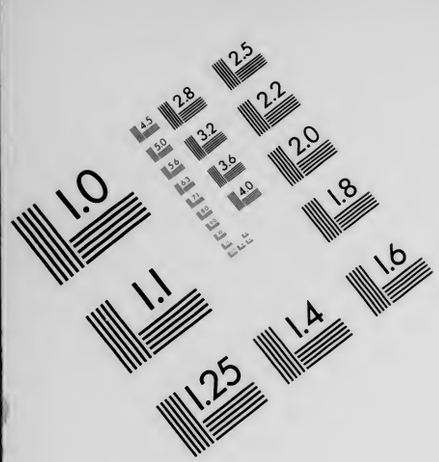

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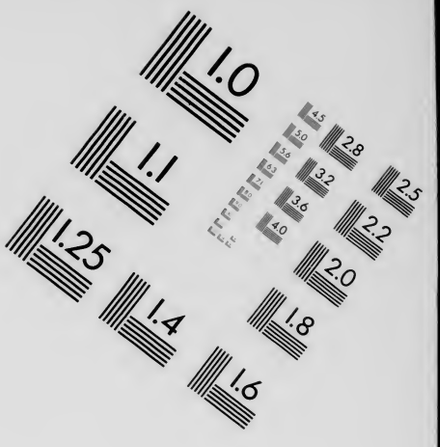

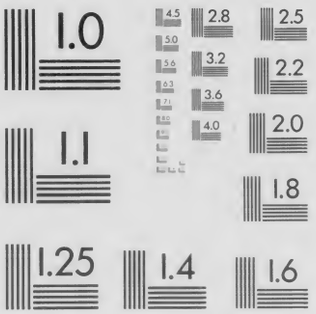

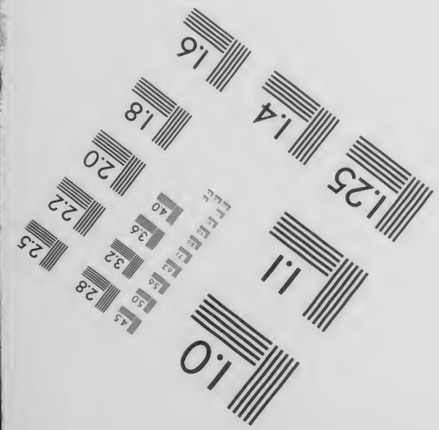

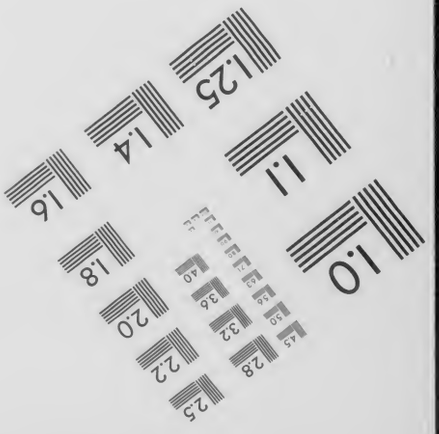

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TWO ORATIONS

TWO ORATIONS

IN PRAISE OF

ATHENIANS

SLAIN IN BATTLE.

FROM THE GREEK.

WITH

REFLEXIONS.

—— Το γαρ γερας εστι θανοντων.

HOM. IL.

LONDON:

Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY in *Pall-Mall*, J. FLETCHER and J. RIVINGTON at the *Oxford Theatre* in *Pater-noſter Row*, *London*; and J. FLETCHER, in the *Turle*, *Oxford*.

MDCCLIX.

[Price ONE SHILLING.]

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JI63

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Reflexions were ſketched out for the inſtruction and conſolation of a Noble Youth of great hopes, who, in the courſe of the laſt year, became nearly intereſted in the ſubject by the united calls of dutiful and friendly affection. If there be any ſeaſonableneſs in publiſhing the Orations themſelves, it is hoped, there will ſeem to be no impropriety in endeavouring to extend their uſe by publiſhing the Reflexions. ——It is indeed the duty of thoſe who, in directing the courſe of ingenuous education, are apt to pay a particular regard to claſſical ſtudies, occaſionally, and by proper examples, to point out their uſefulneſs, and thereby ſhew the probability there is of deriving from thence many ſubſtantial advantages. This they owe to their own vindication, and to the encouragement of young Gentlemen in that cloſeneſs of application which is neceſſary to give ſucceſs to their literary purſuits. It is by habitually inuring themſelves to the accuracy of verbal criticiſm in the exerciſe of cloſe tranſlation, that they may learn to transfuſe into their own compoſitions the beauties of claſſical Authors, their propriety of diction, their elegance of diſpoſition, and the juſtneſs of their ſentiments. It was by this kind of working upon the Greek models that Cicero laid the foundation of his greatneſs.—At the ſame time, let them enrich their

 imaginations,

imaginations, let them ſtrengthen and correct their judgments by a proper attention to the liberal ſciences and modern hiſtories. Uſing theſe means, it will not be long before they may venture to enlarge their flight, and judge for themſelves how far antient repreſentations, whether hiſtorical or political, under a ſimilitude of circumſtances, may be adapted to preſent times: Thence they will naturally proceed to draw forth into common uſe ſuch precedents, as may be regarded with reverence, and followed with ſucceſs: And, in ſhort, whenever there ſhall be a call for the exertion of their talents as ſpeakers, or as actors, upon the ſcene of public tranſactions, they will exemplify in what they ſay and what they do, that rich vein of good ſenſe and excellent obſervations with which claſſical Authors abound. And for their encouragement, we may appeal to many bright examples, in this and preceding ages, for the happy influence of theſe ſtudies in giving that ſuperiority both in debate and action, which perſons thus educated have ever maintained. —— *But I hope the preſent publication may tend to ſome National Uſe, as well as Academical Improvement.*

Chriſt-Church, Oxford, Jan. 1, 1759.

E. BENTHAM.

REFLEXIONS

Occaſioned by

Two Funeral Orations, &c.

THE funeral Orations preſerved in the works of Thucydides, Plato, and Lyſias, have ever been reckoned among the more valuable remains of Greek learning. Conſidered merely as ſketches of the Athenian hiſtory and polity, they deſerve a place within the notice of every admirer of claſſical antiquity. But the maxims of good ſenſe and public ſpirit with which they abound, muſt give pleaſure to every judicious reader. What indeed can be more generally intereſting than the conſideration of honours due to perſons dying in the ſervice of their country? What more noble and generous in the deſign—What more beneficial in the conſequence, than the payment of thoſe honours?—What more grateful to a Britiſh heart—for what can more appoſitely fall in with the vindication of our moſt valuable national privileges, than the harangue

rangue of Pericles? What more affectionate and pathetic than the addreſs which we read in the end of Plato's oration! How applicable to the many diſaſters in War!—and in the main, how juſt reaſoning doth it contain to ſooth our more private afflictions in the death of friends and relations!

For theſe conſiderations, as well as for the excellence of their compoſition, it ſeemed not unbecoming my employment as a Tutor, ſome years ago, during the late war, to publiſh thoſe orations, in the original Greek, with large explanatory notes for the uſe of younger ſtudents. And it being now thought ſeaſonable to give the Engliſh readers a ſpecimen of them, I ſeem in ſome degree intereſted in the publication. At the ſame time, while I confeſs myſelf highly pleaſed with the general plan and ſubject matter of theſe orations, I cannot but endeavour to obviate ſome wrong impreſſions which may ariſe from them; and hint at ſome improvements well deſerving attention, if ever any genius of our own country ſhould undertake to imitate them;—I cannot help teſtifying my own ſenſe of that honour and gratitude with which All thoſe ſhould be regarded, to whoſe counſels and labours, under God, in the preſent conjuncture, the nation owes its ſecurity.

And

And firſt, a very juſt exception may be taken to the rough treatment, which Pericles is repreſented p. 14. l. 29. as uſing towards the female part of his audience—a treatment not eaſy to be reconciled with that good ſenſe, generoſity, and politeneſs which the Greek hiſtorians repreſent to be leading parts in the character of Pericles. Be it that modeſty and reſerve [a] were deemed ſo eſſential to a well-bred lady among the Athenians, that ſhe rarely could make her appearance with decency beyond the limits of her own apartment, yet, on this melancholy occaſion, mothers, daughters, and ſiſters were called forth into public view as it were by ſolemn invitation, and therefore had the public ſecurity for being protected from inſult.—And highly diſreſpectful, if not inſulting, it was in the Orator by a dark and ambiguous admonition to reproach them for giving a vent to that tenderneſs of affection, for which the female heart is peculiarly turned, and which it ſhould ſeem to have been one conſiderable part of his buſineſs to excite and encourage. Add to this, that, none being ſo deeply affected in the happineſs of their future lives by that calamity which the Orator had

[a] Materfamilias—in Græcia—nec in celebritate verſatur—neque in convivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum, neque ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ *gynæconitis* appellatur, quo nemo accedit, niſi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.—*Corn. Nepos* in Præf.

undertaken

undertaken to deplore, every humane diſpoſition would be apt to pity and excuſe, if not commend them, for being hurried into tranſports of grief, however irkſome others might find it to behold. Let it then be a ſufficient cenſure of this paſſage to ſay, that Pericles was one of thoſe ſtateſmen, who had got above the feelings of domeſtic tenderneſs; a character that ſufficiently accounts for many of thoſe diſtreſſing calamities which befell the Athenians in the Peloponneſian war during his adminiſtration.

AGAIN, we may juſtly wonder that the wiſe Socrates ſhould be introduced as ſpeaking with ſo much futility as we find towards the beginning of Plato's Oration. (For though the Oration be repreſented in the dialogue of Plato, intituled Menexenus, as coming from Aſpaſia's mouth, either He or Plato are anſwerable for the ſentiments there adopted.)—All we can ſay is this, that a popular audience having their local prejudices, the Orator and Philoſopher condeſcended to flatter them in that particular, and ſpoke frivolouſly, in order that he might appear not quite out of character as an Athenian.

THE ſame apology muſt be made, ſo far as any can, for his encouraging his countrymen in their ambition and oppreſſiveneſs, and in the inveteracy

teracy of their hatred towards Barbarians, p. 26, 32. whom they firſt ſtigmatized with an opprobrious name, and then, in virtue of it, thought themſelves at liberty to uſe them cruelly.—A maxim, which, by their horrid enormities and mercileſs devaſtations in war, one would think ſome Chriſtians too had adopted, thereby *diſgracing that holy name whereby they are called!*—What other judgment can we form of the barbarities exerciſed by the Spaniards in America—by Papiſts in general, whenever they have power ſufficient, againſt Proteſtants?—— What, of thoſe ſcenes of military execution that were exhibited throughout Germany near a century and half ago—which were afterwards renewed by the French in the Palatinate?—and What of their late exactions throughout our ſovereign's German dominions? But, be our enemies who they will; nay, be their provocations ever ſo great, Britiſh good-nature, and much more Chriſtian charity, muſt ſhudder at thoſe dreadful evils which the moſt neceſſary war brings on both parties. To ſay nothing of the toils and difficulties to which even the victorious are expoſed, Who can reflect upon the miſerable deaths of ſuch multitudes of human creatures, upon the innumerable diſtreſſes of innocent families, the afflictions of relations and friends, the devaſtations, inhumanities, and

wickedneſſes of every kind, which are the never-failing attendants of war—and not burn with an honeſt indignation againſt the authors of ſuch calamities, who have no bowels, no conſcience to remonſtrate againſt offering ſo coſtly a ſacrifice to the idols of their own reſentment, ambition, or avarice!

BRITISH bravery is built upon truer principles: we have many things juſtly dear to us, both civil and ſacred; we have genuine religion, we have natural advantages, which our national induſtry hath honeſtly improved; we have our welfare and honour, both common and perſonal, to maintain: theſe rights we conſider ourſelves as both impowered and commanded by God to defend. Hence is it that we do not yield tamely to the enterprizes of our enemies, however formidable for their power or numbers; that we are not diſmayed by dangers, nor elated by proſperity; but endeavour to unite the moſt compoſed moderation with the moſt undaunted bravery. This hath hitherto been our national character; and to this, under God, we owe our ſucceſſes.

AGAIN, with regard to Athenian liberty —the charms of which are ſo much heightened, and the love of which is ſo pathetically inculcated

cated throughout theſe Orations—have we not ſometimes ſeen men hurried into ſuch viſionary notions of Liberty as may endanger it to deſtruction, diſſolving that union between the ſeveral parts of our happy conſtitution, to which we owe our hopes of its future ſtability, and from which we derive our preſent happineſs?—a happineſs, that with all the burthens we complain of and lament, there is not a nation upon earth with which any reaſonable man amongſt us can be willing, on reflexion, to change conditions; at leaſt a little experience would ſoon convince him of the badneſs of ſuch a choice.

IN the hiſtory of Athens, and particularly of that war in which the Oration of Pericles was ſpoken, we ſee much national wealth and many private conveniences much abuſed by luxury and extravagance:——Great men hereby bringing themſelves into difficulties, and endeavouring to relieve their perſonal diſtreſſes by involving their country in greater. All having the ſame part in the legiſlature, we ſee ingenious men often vaunting themſelves in ſpecious and pompous appearances of public ſpirit; and thereby procuring ſhelter for ſelfiſh projects, for corruption and treachery. While All aſpired to a larger ſhare in the direction of public affairs, we ſee them loſing all equitable temper

one towards another, fierce in their contentions, diſhonouring worthy characters, and driving them from their ſtations; and thereby bringing to themſelves perpetual diſcomfort within, while expoſed to moſt alarming dangers, till at length they were brought to ruin from without.

WELL therefore may we rejoice in that excellent combination[b], whereby the ſeveral parts of the Britiſh conſtitution are peculiarly adapted to anſwer the great purpoſes of men's ſubmitting originally to government; namely, the ſecuring our public independence from foreign invaſions, and our perſonal rights from mutual encroachments. Far from repining at our dependency as Subjects (which is indeed no more than our being referred as members of ſociety in a beautiful ſubordination to our head—as the ſeveral individuals to a common centre of union) well may we honour the memories of thoſe Princes who aſcertained our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and have ſince, as we happily experience at this very day, made it their glory, by a mild and juſt government, to ſecure to us the perpetuity of theſe invaluable bleſſings.

[b] The Britiſh reader may with pleaſure review the picture of our civil eſtabliſhment, in that draught which Polybius (B. 6.) hath ſtruck out in theory as the perfection of human government.

AND

And laſtly, when we ſmile, as ſmile we muſt when we ſee the wiſe Socrates putting on an air of ſerioufneſs, in reciting the legendary tales of Athenian ſuperſtition, (p. 18) let it not be the diſdainful ſmile of profaneneſs, pronouncing " all religions to be the ſame." It is the height of ignorance and folly, not to know and feel the difference; — of diſingenuity not to acknowledge it. Nay, Socrates himſelf, upon another more ſerious occaſion, is introduced [d] lamenting the imperfection of that which he practiſed, at the ſame time expreſſing his expectations that God himſelf, by a particular revelation in future time, would ſupply the defect. And it is our happineſs to enjoy a religious diſpenſation, the moſt rational and worthy of God, the moſt humane and beneficial to mankind; confirmed by a variety of the ſtrongeſt proofs: full of purity in it's precepts, of awfulneſs in it's threatnings, and comfort in it's promiſes; thus directing and ſupporting each perſon ſeparately, and at the ſame time endearing the members of civil ſociety to each other, by the union it enjoins of the ſame worſhip, with the profeſſion of the ſame belief and the ſame hopes.

Neither ſhould it here be omitted, what a peculiar dignity the Chriſtian doctrine hath

[d] See Plato's ſecond Alcibiades.

added

added to the office of a Soldier, what inſtruction for the due diſcharge of it.—It is true, that *peace on earth, and good will to mankind*, was no inconſiderable part of the bleſſing, which our Saviour's coming was intended to produce. Much did he do by precept, by example, by allurements, by terrors, to preclude the very occaſion for a ſoldier's employment — perhaps all that could be done conſiſtently with the freedom of man's nature. But ſince the world will never be without thoſe ſinful *deſires, from whence come wars and fightings*, very fitting it is that *they who take the ſword*, who commit and perſiſt in lawleſs violence, ſhould *periſh by the ſword*. And as the Magiſtrate is *ordained by God*, to reſtrain all diſturbers of civil happineſs, the Soldier is commiſſioned under him, to repreſs the invaders of national right. Well therefore may he from this conſideration aſſume new vigour, *not to bear the ſword in vain*, nor *to count his life dear unto himſelf*, in this ſervice to which he is lawfully called: Well may he be daring in his enterpriſes, intrepid in dangers, and perſevering in difficulties; and from the ſame principle, he certainly will be merciful in the midſt of conqueſt. Nor will the influence of this conſideration be ſmall upon his own moral conduct. As his profeſſion leads him to walk in the midſt of death, he cannot

cannot fail, without the greateſt ſtupidity, of being mindful to ſtand *prepared*, by an habitual good life, to *meet his God* in judgment;— of ever *remembring God*, and *honouring him as God*, by whoſe authority alone, a Soldier can innocently wield the ſword, who *alone can cover his head in the day of battle*, or reward his *being faithful unto death, by giving him a crown of life*. [e]

YET upon the whole, notwithſtanding the abovementioned exceptions, there are few Britiſh readers but will take a pleaſure in reviewing theſe monuments of Athenian patriotiſm; happy, if they go on [f] to invigorate and refine their own, upon chriſtian principles!

Influenced by theſe, they will, amongſt other fruits of them, be led to thank God, for having ſupported our gracious Sovereign in his magnanimous reſolution to vindicate the

[e] The influence of this belief of a future life, under all the uncertainty and miſrepreſentation of heathen tradition, is well deſcribed, LUCAN. B. i. v. 466.

Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

[f] It would be here unpardonable not to put the reader in mind what excellent helps for this purpoſe he may receive from the *nine Sermons preached on occaſion of the late war*, by Archbiſhop Secker.

juſt

juſt rights of his Britiſh ſubjects and to maintain the proteſtant religion, by aſſiſting his great proteſtant ally, under circumſtances moſt affecting to every humane and generous diſpoſition, and moſt diſcouraging to himſelf; for having, upon this intereſting occaſion united, not only the hearts of his whole people in affection to his royal perſon and family, but their very judgments alſo, ſo liable to differ, in approbation of the meaſures of his government; and for having bleſſed thoſe meaſures with ſeveral important ſucceſſes: — ſuch as have ſecured us from any immediate proſpect, as well as from the preſent ſuffering of thoſe horrid calamities, which have befallen many other countries.

To thoſe likewiſe, who have been to us the providential inſtruments of this ſecurity, is there due a large tribute of thankfulneſs. Studious men eſpecially, the more unable they feel themſelves either to ward off the miſchiefs of war, or to find ſupport under them, the more hearty ſhould they ever be, to concur with their fellow-ſubjects in every proper act of gratitude, " for " that Royal care and protection, whereby they " are enabled to purſue their ſtudies, and enjoy " the bounty of their founders and benefactors " in ſecurity, free from the miſeries and cala-

" mities

" mities of war." (Univ. Oxford Addreſs. Oct. 1758.) And we reflect with ſatisfaction, that our acknowledgments to the Throne upon this ſubject, have been moſt dutifully paid, and no leſs graciouſly accepted.

To thoſe of our Nobility and Gentry likewiſe, who have teſtified a ſpirit of active bravery in their King and Country's ſervice,—To every gallant Officer is there due a large return of honour to their perſons while living, and of reverence to their memories when dead.

Neither yet ſhould the merit of inferior inſtruments, the common Soldiers and Seamen, paſs unnoticed or unrewarded. Whatever compaſſionate regard can be ſhewn to them, in this their ſeaſon of toil and danger; whatever relief can be given, or comfort adminiſtred to their Wives and Children, theſe are duties incumbent on us from principles, I will not ſay merely of Chriſtian charity, but of common gratitude.

The Britiſh legiſlature, by the amplitude of it's ſtated proviſion, and by it's occaſional bounties, to perſons engaged in military ſervice, hath given repeated teſtimony to the truth and importance of this ſentiment.

IF Athens ſhewed any true policy in the eſtabliſhment of her Prytaneum; if Rome, in her many encouragements of valour and induſtry; particularly in making a judicious diſtribution of ſpoils taken from the enemy,—in aſſigning to emerit ſoldiers ſuch [g] portions of conquered countries as might at once afford to them the means of comfortable ſubſiſtence, and add ſecurity to her colonies—in erecting monuments to the dead,—in votes of triumph and thanks [h] to the living;—the ſame ſchemes of policy have been with equal wiſdom, and more than equal generoſity, adopted among ourſelves. Princely fortunes have been raiſed, princely palaces have been built, ſometimes by the expreſs command and munificence of our legiſlature—ſometimes in virtue of that transfer which it hath ſolemnly made of thoſe ſpoils, which by regular courſe of antient law and cuſtom would have accrued

[g] See a vote of this kind, Cic. Philipp. 5, towards the end.

[h] I ſhall give a ſpecimen of the Roman form, from Cic. Philipp.—Cum Q. Cæpionis Bruti proconſulis opera, conſilio, induſtriâ, virtute, difficillimo tempore provincia Macedonia, Illyricum, Græcia cuncta, legiones, exercitus, equitatus in conſulum, ſenatus, populique Romani poteſtate ſint: id Q. Cæpionem Brutum Procos. bene et e rep. et ſuâ majorumque ſuorum dignitate conſuetudineque reip. bene gerendæ feciſſe, eamq; rem ſenatui populoque Rom. gratum eſſe, et fore, &c.—Another form of thanks to Cn. Pomp. occurs Philipp. 13.—Another to ſeveral military commanders, Phillip. 3.

to

to the public treaſury;——Votes of thanks—*a moſt honourable fame* [i]—have been decreed;—*Altars of virtue* have been erected [k] to perpetuate the memory of eminently gallant commanders. And while the pompous edifices of Chelſea and Greenwich ſhall ſubſiſt, every Briton muſt reflect with pleaſure that his Country is no leſs unrivalled in her care and gratitude towards her brave ſoldiers and ſeamen, than Foreigners, from frequent experience, have found reaſon to acknowledge them to be ſuperior in the exertion of perſonal courage and induſtry.

NOR hath our Country, by any unmindful neglect, paſſed over the helpleſs [l] Orphans and

[i] Is demum eſt, mea quidem ſententia, juſtus triumphus, ac verus: cum bene de rep. meritis teſtimoninm a conſenſu civitatis datur. Nam ſive in communi gaudio populi R. uni gratulabantur, magnum judicium: ſive gratias agebant, eo majus: ſive utrumque nihil magnificentius.

[k] Eſt autem fidei pietatiſque noſtræ declarare fortiſſimis militibus, quam memores ſimus quamque grati.—Erit igitur exſtructa moles opere magnifico, inciſæque literæ divinæ virtutis teſtes ſempiternæ, ea exſtructione, quæ ſit ad memoriam æternitatis ara virtutis. Phillip. 14

[l] Atque utinam his omnibus abſtergere fletum ſententiis noſtris, conſultiſque poſſemus, &c. atque etiam cenſeo, quæ præmia militibus promiſimus nos, repub. recuperata, tributuros, ea vivis victoribuſque cumulate, cum tempus venerit, perſolvenda: qui autem ex iis, quibus illa promiſſa ſunt, pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, conjugibus, fratribus, eadem tribuenda cenſeo. Cic. Philipp. 14.

 widows

Widows of thoſe to whom ſhe owes her ſafety. The generoſity and prudence of her appointments for the widows of officers, according to their ſeveral ranks, is well known. And the ſolemnity of her declaration, with reſpect to the lower claſſes, is worth attending to. 7 & 8 Will. c. 21. 1696.

Whereas the ſtrength and ſafety of his Majeſty's realms and dominions do very much depend upon the furniſhing and ſupplying his Majeſty's royal navy with a competent number of able men for that ſervice;—and whereas the ſeamen of this kingdom have for a long time diſtinguiſhed themſelves throughout the world by their induſtry and ſkilfulneſs in their imployments, and by their courage and conſtancy manifeſted in engagements for the defence and honour of their native country: And whereas, for an encouragement to continue this their reputation, and to invite greater numbers of his Majeſty's ſubjects to betake themſelves to his ſervice by ſea, it is fit and reaſonable that ſome competent proviſion ſhould be made, that ſeamen, who by age, wounds or other accidents, ſhould become diſabled for future ſervice, and ſhall not be in a condition to maintain themſelves comfortably, may not fall under hardſhips and miſeries, but be ſupported at the public charge, and that the children of ſuch diſabled perſons, and alſo the widows and children of

of ſuch as ſhall happen to be ſlain, killed or drowned in his Majeſty's ſervice, may, in ſome reaſonable manner, be provided for and educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themſelves, Be it therefore enacted, that every diſabled ſeaman (qualified as in the act is deſcribed) *ſhall upon* (due) *certificate be admitted and placed in the ſaid hoſpital, and ſhall have provided and allowed unto him during his life at the charges of the ſaid hoſpital, and out of the revenues thereof, according to the rules &c. thereof, fitting and convenient lodging, meat, drink, cloathing, and other neceſſaries and conveniencies; and alſo the widows of ſuch ſeamen, and alſo their children ſhall be received into the ſaid hoſpital, and there be provided for, and the children ſhall be educated till they are fit to be put out, or of ability to maintain themſelves; all which ſhall be done ſo far forth as the ſaid hoſpital ſhall be capable to receive them, and as the revenues thereof will extend for the purpoſes aforeſaid, &c. &c.*

CAN any thing carry a ſtronger evidence of reaſon—a higher praiſe of benevolence than this declaration of our common Parent? And doth it not contain a virtual exhortation, that, in whatever degree the public proviſion ſhall be found incompetent to anſwer the whole purpoſe which ſhe graciouſly intends, her children, one

one amongſt another ſhould ſupply the defect, as proper objects of their pity and beneficence ſhall occaſionally be preſented to their views?

THAT Britiſh hearts are ſo remarkably exuberant in acts of beneficence we may juſtly, I believe, aſcribe to the purity of that benevolent religion which we profeſs:—the influence of which will make itſelf felt even by thoſe who are leſs ſpeculatively attentive to the evidence and reaſons upon which it is founded.—But as to the prudential methods of exerting this beneficence moſt effectually for the public ſervice, theſe are to be derived, at leaſt they may admit of great improvement, from the ſtudy of thoſe inſtitutions, which, upon trial, have approved their excellence, and which, for this amongſt other reaſons, recommend the hiſtories of civiliſed people to our regard.

I HAVE already hinted at ſome inſtitutions amongſt ourſelves evidently adopted from, but highly improved upon, thoſe of Athens and Rome. And ſurely it would not be [i] unſeaſonable or difficult to contrive ſome public annual inſtitution, of the ſame kind with what is mentioned by Thucydides, B. II. adapted to

[i] Illud proprium ſapientis ſenatus eſt, grata eorum virtutem memoria proſequi, qui pro patria vitam profuderunt. CIC. PHILIPP. 14.

the

the genius of our countrymen, and yet conducted with the ſame ſimplicity and frugality as was the Athenian. One might anſwer for the good effects of it in animating the courage of thoſe who are already engaged in the ſervice; nor would it fail to raiſe in others that martial ſpirit, which, ſo long as our inveterate enemy retains his antient perfidiouſneſs, and continues deaf to the repreſentations of equity and juſtice, is in a manner vital to our country.

CONSIDERING the exigency of the time and the difficulty aud hazard of the employment, the friendly aid of every tongue is wanted to praiſe, of every hand to applaud [k], the men who venture foremoſt in this courſe of honour and duty to their King and Country. *My heart is towards the governours of the people that willingly offered themſelves* [l].

SHALL it then ſtill continue a matter of difficult ſpeculation, how it comes to paſs that ſo many of diſtinguiſhed eminence for titles, rank, and fortunes, have lately taken upon them the profeſſion of arms?—Detraction is ever buſy to diſparage illuſtrious merit. Let us for once hear and refute her malignant ſuggeſtions.

[k] Hæc interpoſui, ut quoſdam nimis jejuno animo, et anguſto monerem,—— uti excellentium civium virtutem imitatione dignam non invidia putarent. CIC. PHILIP. 14.

[l] Judges v. 2.

MUST

MUST we then ſuppoſe them ſtruck with that pompouſneſs of military parade, which ſo powerfully attracts weak minds by its brilliancy? — or, with that love of eaſe and ſauntering, ſo falſely reputed to be the great privilege, indeed the proper calling of Gentlemen? — Surely the particular time and ſeaſon, in which they court the ſervice, abundantly refute the firſt calumny; unleſs indeed we can imagine there to be any thing pleaſing in the glittering of inſtruments fitted for immediate deſtruction to the beholder,

Pleaſing to hear the drums tumultuous ſound,
The victor's ſhouts and dying groans confound,
The dreadful burſt of cannon rend the ſkies,
And all the thunder of the battle riſe.

ADDISON.

As to the other ſuggeſtion, let any one conſider the deſtructiveneſs of laborious marches and tedious watchings, the miſchiefs of inclement ſeaſons, the inconveniency of ſtrait lodging, the unwholeſomeneſs of encampments, the ſad neceſſities of noiſome diet, to ſay nothing of the toil and peril which attend all military operations, and he will with ſhame retract his idle calumny, and acknowledge that a camp or ſhip in time of war, is by no means the place proper for laying ſcenes of eaſe and luxurious delicacy.

Is

Is it then the ſuppoſed privilege of giving a full range to lewd indulgences? Too often indeed the arms of military gentlemen have thereby been ſullied in their luſtre.——But alas! ſuch Rangers enjoy their full ſcope within the regions of peace, bidding defiance to infamy, regardleſs of the miſeries themſelves are likely to ſuffer, and untouched with pity for what they occaſion, equally deſtitute of remorſe for living in daily violation of the divine and human laws in this reſpect.

OR, is it a love of domination, which cannot be gratified in its full extent of inſolence, till got beyond the coercion of civil power? Read but the liſt of Officers now under conſideration, and ſee this calumny likewiſe refuted by the known tenour of their conſtant behaviour. However neceſſary they may find it, in ſome emergencies, to aſſume the character of fierceneſs and rigour, they wait with impatience for the return of that [m] happy hour which ſhall

[m] Δηλον οτι πασας τας προς τον πολεμον επιμελειας, καλας μεν θετεον· ουχ ως τελος δε παντων ακροτατον, αλλα εκεινης χαριν ταυτας. Ariſtot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2. See more to the ſame purpoſe, c. 15. Indeed the moral, political, and critical works of this Author cannot be too much recommended. Ea natura rerum eſt, P.C. ut, qui ſenſum veræ gloriæ ceperit, quique ſe ab ſenatu equitibus populoque R. univerſo ſenſerit civem ſe charum haberi, ſalutaremque reipub. nihil cum hac gloria comparandum putet. CIC. PHIL. 5.

again reſtore them to the arts of peace, and to the opportunity of ſympathizing with their friends and families in the delights of domeſtic tenderneſs and mild affection. To bring things back into their former ſtate of quiet and tranquillity, whenever there is a probability of ſettling them upon a ſafe and honourable foundation, in order to enjoyment, is the intereſt of every man of rank and fortune, and may therefore be ſuppoſed to be by them moſt ardently deſired, and ſincerely intended.

NEITHER can the reproach of indigence—which indeed in itſelf is no reproach—not even this, the poor remaining reſource of defamation, can affect the ſubject of our inquiry.——What additions to their fortunes could the noble Dukes, Marquiſes, Earls, and Lords who have lately been enrolled in their Country's ſervice, and obeyed its call into France, Germany, and other quarters of the world, What additions, I ſay, to their fortunes could they either deſire or receive equivalent to their loſs of preſent enjoyments? The hereditary wealth of many others, in a leſs, but ſtill an ample degree, refute the ſordid imputation.

IT remains, that they were influenced by the laudable ambition of acquiring honour to themſelves

ſelves in the ſervice of their Country; by the ſame heroic motive, which induced the ſecond Hope of Britain to imbark in the late Invaſion of the territories of France, at once exciting the zeal of his fellow-ſoldiers and ſeamen, and accepting leſſons for his future glory from their brave example!

WHEN men have put themſelves upon ſo ſevere a trial, let their actions determine what character they deſerve, what object they had in view. And let not only the injuſtice, but the bad conſequences of groundleſs inſinuations or diſregard be called to mind. As by the breath of general favour and applauſe, men have ſometimes been carried into exertions beyond themſelves, ſo, on the contrary, have they been tempted by unmerited ill treatment or neglect, to let their countrymen feel in their calamities the loſs of thoſe uſeful virtues, which they were unable to diſcern, or unwilling to honour. To ſay nothing of our own hiſtory, our claſſical ſtudies will furniſh us with abundant inſtances to confirm the truth of this obſervation.

LET us then admit, as both in prudence and juſtice we ought, that with an honeſt indignation theſe noble perſonages reſented the charge which was urged againſt the preſent

race of Britons, with too little diſcrimination, as ſunk in all the wretchedneſs of ſloth and cowardice,—that they are determined to diſprove the accuſation,—and to let the world ſee, how little ſatisfaction they feel in wealth and titles, comparable to that of approving themſelves worthy of thoſe honours and fortunes which they inherit, through the virtuous labours of their anceſtors;

—'tis thus they court renown,
And grace the coats their great forefathers won.

ADDISON.

As the pattern is noble, ſo doth it carry an uſeful leſſon of conſolation to thoſe who are leſs favoured by the undiſcerning munificence of Fortune; that wealth and titles are abſolutely inſufficient to gratify the deſires and fill the capacity of human mind. Virtue alone (and a very conſiderable part of it is the love of our Country) virtue alone can do it, which, when built on true religion, ſtands independent of all the changes and chances of Fortune: For this will bring happineſs to itſelf in every attempt to deſerve well, and reſts ſatisfied even when unſucceſsful [n].

[n] —— Neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus, præter hanc laudis gloriæque deſiderat, qua etiamſi careat, tamen ſit ſeipſa contenta, atque in memoria gratorum civium, tanquam in luce poſita lætetur. CIC. PHILIPP. 5.

THIS

THIS we charitably preſume to have been the ruling paſſion which animated thoſe brave men who have fallen in the courſe of the preſent war;—and every tender, every generous perſon will bewail their deaths.

NUMEROUS are the tongues that have deplored the brave Lord *Howe* and Capt. *Gardiner*. It muſt argue a wretched coolneſs, a baſe degeneracy of temper, not to regret the loſs of men ſo intrepid, ſo indefatigable, ſo uſeful in their virtue. The names of many others, though leſs extenſively known, I doubt not, will be reported with honour, and dear will be their memories, within the ſeveral ſpheres of their nearer relation, whether of kindred, friendſhip, or neighbourhood.

BUT in ſpeaking of this ſubject, I hope to ſtand excuſed [o] in every view, public as well as private, if I particularly indulge myſelf in the reſpectful and melancholy remembrance of the

[o] Vellem, dii immortales feciſſent, ut vivo potius Ser. Sulpicio gratias ageremus quam mortuo honores quæreremus. Si Ser. Sulpicio caſus mortem attuliſſet, dolerem quidem tanto reip. vulnere: mortem vero ejus non monumentis, ſed luctu publico eſſe honorandam putarem. Nunc autem quis dubitat, quin ei vitam abſtulerit ipſa legatio? ſecum enim ille mortem extulit: quam, ſi nobiſcum remanſiſſet, ſua cura, optimi filii, fideliſſimæque conjugis diligentia, vitare potuiſſet. CIC. PHILIPP. ix.

late

late Duke of MARLBOROUGH—a Nobleman, whoſe only inducement for entering into new cares, perplexities, and fatigues, muſt have been the public-ſpirited hopes of inviting others of high rank to be aſſiſtant in retrieving the antient honour of their country's arms, and in ſecuring to her the poſſeſſion of her envied proſperity.

BORN to the inheritance of military fame, he ſuppreſſed his deſire of it only till placed upon a proper ſtation for exerting it.

INSTEAD of that indolence and ſupineneſs which are apt to beſet men of gentle diſpoſitions, we found his appointment to preſide over the Britiſh artillery inſtantly ſucceeded by ſuch a ſpirit of active diligence as carried that branch of our military operations to a juſtly celebrated degree of perfection. Having been long [p] diſtinguiſhed by candour, moderation, and beneficence, he was ſelected by our Sovereign as the propereſt commander, at once by prudence and

[p] I might here tranſcribe the character of *Proxenus* from Xenophon (Exped. Cyr. B. 2.) as in the greater part applicable to my preſent ſubject; was it not there contraſted by two other characters very appoſite, that of *Clearchus*, to our high Ally, that of *Meno*, to the ravager of our Sovereign's Electorate; I therefore content myſelf with referring to the paſſage which is too long to be tranſcribed, and which muſt ſuffer by a mutilation.

bravery

bravery to annoy our perfidious enemy, and by his clemency to upbraid their rapacious Generals with the cruelty of their exactions, and to anſwer the reſolution ſo worthy of our humane and ever gracious Sovereign, " not to be tempted " by any treatment, however injurious to him- " ſelf, to make retaliation on the innocent ſub- " jects of France."—This deſignation he juſtified, and fulfilled the common hopes.

WHAT enjoyments he quitted by giving himſelf up to the ſervice of the Public may in part be eſtimated from the affluence of his fortunes and the exaltedneſs of his rank: Theſe are ſtriking to public view. But his family and friends alone can deſcribe what immediate loſs of private comforts he ſuſtained. His exemplarineſs in the duties of every domeſtic relation had been remarkable. To ſubmit therefore to a temporary ſuſpenſion of thoſe kindly and delightful affections, which ever attend the exerciſe of thoſe duties, muſt have been doubly grievous to him; grievous in reſpect of his own immediate loſs, and more ſo from the fears, the lamentations, and perhaps from the remonſtrances of thoſe whoſe happineſs was bound up with the endearments of his company, and the hopes of his ſafety. But they flattered themſelves that the ſucceſs which had attended his military

operations

operations in France was an omen of his future triumphs in Germany, and of his carrying ſafety to our high ally, and glory to his country and family. The deſign was great and good: but haſtening to the event he ſunk under the rigorous effects of ſevere weather and fatiguing marches. Being thus a martyr in his country's cauſe, his memory doubtleſs ſtands intitled to a double portion of thoſe honours, which, upon his ſafe return, had confeſſedly been due to him for all that he quitted as well as for all that he riſked.

NEITHER, I truſt, will it be either unexpected in a member of this ſociety, or void of general uſe, to bewail the untimely death of Mr. James Cocks [q]. No one certainly was more deſervedly the darling of his acquaintance, better formed to adorn his country, to befriend his neighbourhood, or to do honour to his family. In him we viewed a love of letters without pedantry; a mildneſs without effeminacy; a dignity without pride. Frank and ſpirited in his temper, but yet modeſt; chearful, but, in the proper time, ſerious; ſincere but unaffected in his religion. Bleſt, to an uncommon degree of affluence, with the means of all thoſe enjoy-

[q] Gentleman Commoner of Chriſt Church, Enſign in the Guards, killed in the late Action at St. Cas.

ments

ments which are ſo earneſtly coveted by moſt men, and ſo rarely reſiſted by youth, and yet deliberately ſallying out into ſcenes of toil and danger, mindful only of, what he believed to be, his Country's voice, demanding the hand and heart of every well-affectioned Subject in its cauſe.—But indeed this latter part of his Character, as it rendered him deaf to the repeated dehortations of his friends, is not, I am ſenſible, to be praiſed without reſtriction. The more highly we eſteem a perſon for the generoſity of his principle, the greater need is there to mark out ſuch errors of conduct as may become the object of an haſty imitation.

As there is a ſacredneſs peculiar to Parental authority, which, in things honeſt and lawful, can never be diſregarded with innocence, ſo that of upright Guardians, and reſpectable relations, is the next object of reverence to truly ingenuous and judicious minds. To ſuch it belongs to let their own youthful warmth be moderated by the advice of maturer judgments, to receive it with much gratitude, and to obſerve it with all due ſubmiſſion. The dangers of taking wrong ſteps in the world are too often a full match for the greateſt care, for the moſt attentive watchfulneſs of the moſt experienced wiſdom. What ſecurity then, if counſel be diſ-

 regarded,

regarded, is there left for the welfare of an orphan-youth?

And not only in ſuch uncommon impulſes of blooming Heroiſm, but in all objects of deſire, however laudable, great deference is due from young men to the judgment of friends, both for their own ſakes, and for that of the public;—for their own, that they may be aſſiſted by them in chuſing the moſt likely methods to obtain what they aim at; and for the public, in order to prevent the miſchiefs, whereby well-meaning perſons of no experience ſometimes prejudice the very cauſe which they intend to ſerve.—And conſidering how much the happineſs of other people may be affected by men, whoſe circumſtances of birth and fortune place them in a high degree of eminence, it is a matter of public conſequence, that Such ſhould always improve the pretious opportunity of taking time to deliberate, and diſcipline both their underſtandings and morals, before they engage in ſcenes of hurry and tumult.—This privilege is perhaps one of the moſt valuable belonging to an ample fortune, and, if loſt in its proper ſeaſon, is ſcarce ever to be regained.—And lamentable indeed hath the conſequence of loſing it been often found to men themſelves, and to their country. For their minds being thus defrauded of the proper culture, they become

become ſelf-opinionated and vehement: they learn to deſpiſe many valuable accompliſhments for which they have no reliſh, and to diſregard even thoſe parts of our national conſtitution which they do not underſtand; unhappily in the mean time miſtaking their own ignorance for largeneſs of thinking, and the perverſeneſs, which ariſes from thence, for ſpirit and reſolution.

With regard to the particular caſe of a young gentleman's betaking himſelf early to the profeſſion of arms, I confeſs myſelf to be a very incompetent judge. But certain it is, that hiſtory affords illuſtrious examples of men whoſe courage and conduct in battle hath not been a whit leſs diſtinguiſhed for having firſt [r] completed their courſe of literary education, before they entered the camp as ſoldiers. Among the Greeks and Romans we have the memorable inſtances of Xenophon and Lucullus. And in our own country perhaps modern names might be brought into view; but I content myſelf with mentioning the accompliſhed Sir Philip Sidney, with the gallant and renowned Sir Walter Raleigh, referring for others to Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the Civil Wars.

[r] Μεχρι μεν ηβης κυφοτερᾳ γυμνασιᾳ προσοιστεον — οταν δ' αφ' ηβης ετη τρια προς τοις αλλοις μαθημασι γενωνται, τοτε αρμοττει τοις πονοις καταλαμβανειν την ἐχομενην ἡλικιαν. αμα γαρ τητε διανοιᾳ ᾗ τῳ σωματι διαπονειν ᾗ δει. Ariſtot. Polit. l. 8. c. 4.

But

BUT to return from this digreſſion, it was natural that the Friends of this amiable young gentleman ſhould wiſh to have his public ſpirit conducted in the ſame channel, not of military, but of civil life, as was that of the great Lord Somers, whoſe fortunes he inherited: or at leaſt that he would ſuſpend the adventurous courſe to which he deſtin'd himſelf, till his judgment was matured, and till his religious and moral principles were more ſecurely fortified againſt the dangers of a relaxation. Accordingly this advice was urged by them, greatly to the honour of ſome of them in particular, becauſe greatly againſt their temporal intereſt, with ſo much tenderneſs of affection, and with ſo much ſtrength of remonſtrance, that its failing of the deſired effect (to ſpeak the language of the times) would be called a *Fatality*. As was ſaid of [s] Themiſtocles, the trophies of the great modern Miltiades would not ſuffer him to ſleep. — And alas! how long and fatal ſleep hath been the conſequence!

Adieu! and take with thee thy praiſe to heav'n!

SHAKESPEARE.

I CANNOT cloſe my reflexions occaſioned by theſe funeral Orations of Thucydides and Plato,

[s] Plutarch's Life of Themiſtocles.

without

without remarking the ſingular value which the beſt Latin writers ſeem to have put upon them. Salluſt has copied many of the ſentiments, even to the expreſſions: Cicero has done the ſame. but the latter, while he endeavours to conſole thoſe, who, by the fortune of war, had loſt huſbands, fathers, ſons, brothers, and intimate friends, ſeems conſcious of ſome weakneſs in the topics therein ſuggeſted. He therefore gives the ſubject a new turn [t] with his uſual terſeneſs. — But it would betray an unwarrantable fondneſs for claſſical learning, to aſſert the ſufficiency of what either He or They have offered for that purpoſe. Nothing can effectually and univerſally reach ſuch melancholy caſes, but the Chriſtian principle of humble reſignation to the will of God; who ordereth all things according to his own counſel; who in all our diſtreſſes can, and certainly will, if it be not our own fault, bring good to us out of evil, and turn our very calamities into bleſſings.—For he will certainly bring good: but whether to us, depends on ourſelves.

[t] Conſolemur eorum proximos, quibus optima eſt hæc quidem conſolatio: parentibus, quod tanta reipublicæ præſidia genuerunt: liberis, quod habebunt domeſtica exempla virtutis: conjugibus, quod iis viris carebunt, quos laudare quam lugere præſtabit: fratribus, quod in ſe, ut corporum, ſic virtutum ſimilitudinem eſſe confident.

PHILIPP. 14.

AND

AND they, whoſe hearts are now yearning after friends and relations that are ſtill expoſed to the various diſaſters of war, they likewiſe may happily experience the uſefulneſs of the ſame religious principle.—Let them, in this interval of anxiety and ſuſpence, endeavour to ſupport their own minds by that very advice which ſerious perſons would give their friends at their entrance upon a campaign; "Do your duty, and leave "events to God." In waiting then for thoſe events, let them hope the beſt; that what their friends have enterpriſed generouſly, will proſper in their hands, as well with reſpect to their own honour and ſafety, as to that of their Country, whoſe cauſe, in their ſeveral important ſervices, they have undertaken to maintain.

THE

ORATION of *PERICLES*

Taken from the

TRANSLATION of THUCYDIDES,

By Dr. *SMITH*, Dean of *Cheſter*.

THE

ORATION of *PLATO*

Tranſlated by the late

GILBERT WEST, LL.D.

ARGUMENT

FROM

THUCYDIDES,

BOOK II.

IT was the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the Athenians every winter, in war-time, to ſolemnize a public funeral for thoſe who had fallen in battle, in the manner as follows.—

The bones of the ſlain were brought to a tabernacle erected for the purpoſe three days before, and all were at liberty to deck out the remains of their friends at their own diſcretion. But, when the grand proceſſion was made, ten cypreſs-coffins were drawn on carriages, one for every tribe, in each of which were ſeparately contained the bones of all that belonged to that tribe. One ſumptuous bier was carried along empty for thoſe that were miſſing, whoſe bodies could not be found amongſt the ſlain. All who were willing, both citizens and ſtrangers, attended the ſolemnity; and the women, who were related to the deceaſed, took their ſtation

near the ſepulchre groaning and lamenting. They depoſited the remains in the public ſepulchre, which ſtood in the fineſt ſuburb of the city;—for it had been the conſtant cuſtom there *to bury all who fell in war, except thoſe at Marathon, whoſe extraordinary valour the Athenians judged proper to honour with a ſepulchre on the field of battle. As ſoon as they were interred, ſome one ſelected for the office by the public voice, and ever a perſon in great eſteem for his high underſtanding, and of high dignity amongſt them, pronounced over them the decent panegyric—and this done, they departed.*

THE

THE

FUNERAL ORATION

OF

PERICLES.

MANY of thoſe, who have ſpoken before me on theſe occaſions, have commended the author of the law, which we are now obeying, for having inſtituted an oration to the honour of thoſe who ſacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it ſufficient for men, who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by ſuch as you ſee the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and—that the virtues of Many ought not to be endangered by the management of any One perſon, when their credit muſt precariouſly depend on his oration, which may be good, or may be bad. Difficult indeed it is judiciouſly to handle a ſubject, where even probable truth will hardly gain aſſent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce every thing unfavourably expreſſed, in reſpect to what he wiſhes and what he knows;—whilſt the

ſtranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of thoſe deeds, which he is conſcious are above his own atchievement. For the praiſes beſtowed on others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do thoſe feats, they hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it falſe. Yet, as this ſolemnity hath received its ſanction from the authority of our anceſtors, it is my duty alſo to obey the law, and to endeavour to procure, ſo far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I SHALL therefore firſt begin with our forefathers, ſince both juſtice and decency require we ſhould on this occaſion beſtow on them an honourable remembrance. In this our country they kept themſelves always firmly ſettled, and through their valour handed it down free to every ſince ſucceeding generation. Worthy indeed of praiſe are They, and yet more worthy are our immediate Fathers; ſince, enlarging their own inheritance into the extenſive empire which we now poſſeſs, they bequeathed *that* their work of toil to us, their Sons. Yet even theſe ſucceſſes we ourſelves here preſent, we who are yet in the ſtrength and vigor of our days, have nobly improved, and have made ſuch proviſions for this our Athens, that now it is all-ſufficient in itſelf to anſwer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite thoſe martial exploits by which theſe ends were accompliſhed,

pliſhed, or the reſolute defences we ourſelves and our fathers have made againſt the formidable invaſions of Barbarians and Greeks — your own knowledge of theſe will excuſe the long detail. But —by what methods we have roſe to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I ſhall firſt endeavour to ſhew; and then proceed to the praiſe of the deceaſed. Theſe, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occaſion: the diſcuſſion of them muſt be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of Strangers.

WE are happy in a form of Government, which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours:—for it hath ſerved as a model to others; but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the *Few*, but to the whole body of the people, is called a *Democracy*. How different ſoever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the ſame general Equality our laws are fitted to preſerve,—and ſuperior Honours, juſt as we excell. The public Adminiſtration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not an hindrance; ſince whoever is able to ſerve his country meets with no obſtacle to preferment from his firſt obſcurity. The Offices of the *State* we go through without obſtructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without ſuſpicions; not angry

angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of diſcontent, which pains, tho' it cannot puniſh:— ſo that in private life we converſe together without diffidence or damage, whilſt we dare not on any account offend againſt the Public, through the reverence we bear to the Magiſtrates and the Laws, chiefly to thoſe *enacted* for redreſs of the injured, and to thoſe that are *unwritten*, a breach of which is allowed diſgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind moſt frequent intermiſſions of care, by the appointment of public recreations and ſacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens cauſeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth, than of thoſe of other nations.

In the affairs of War we excel thoſe of our enemies, who adhere to methods oppoſite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general reſort, nor ever drive any ſtranger from us, whom either improvement or curioſity hath brought amongſt us, leſt any enemy ſhould hurt us by ſeeing what is never concealed. We place not ſo great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our ſouls impelling us to action.

action. In point of Education, the youth of ſome people are inured by a courſe of laborious exerciſe to ſupport toil and hardſhip like men; but we, notwithſtanding our eaſy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, ſince the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united ſtrength of all their confederates. But, when we invade the dominions of our neighbours, for the moſt part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country thoſe who fight in defence of their own habitations. The ſtrength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced; becauſe it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our ſervice by land. But, if any-where they engage and defeat a ſmall party of our forces, they boaſtingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly over-powered by our united ſtrength. What though, from a ſtate of inactivity rather than laborious exerciſe, or with a natural rather than an acquired valour, we learn to encounter danger? — this good at leaſt we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehenſion of poſſible misfortunes, and, when we hazard the danger, are found no leſs courageous than thoſe who are continually inured to it. In theſe reſpects our whole community deſerves juſtly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention,

In

In our manner of living we ſhew an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philoſophy without enervating the mind. We diſplay our wealth in the ſeaſon of beneficence, and not in the vanity of diſcourſe. A confeſſion of poverty is diſgrace to no man; no effort to avoid it is diſgrace indeed. There is viſibly in the ſame perſons an attention to their own private concerns and thoſe of the Public; and in others, engaged in the labours of life, there is a competent ſkill in the affairs of Government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in ſtate-affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we paſs the ſoundeſt judgments, and are quick at catching the right apprehenſions of things; not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions, but rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate, before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein conſiſts our diſtinguiſhing excellence, that in the hour of action we ſhew the greateſt courage, and yet debate before-hand the expediency of our meaſures. The courage of others is the reſult of ignorance: deliberation makes them cowards. And thoſe undoubtedly muſt be owned to have the greateſt ſouls, who, moſt acutely ſenſible of the miſeries of war and the ſweets of peace, are not hence in the leaſt deterred from facing danger.

In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preſerve friends, not by receiving, but

but by conferring obligations. For he, who does a kindneſs, hath the advantage over him, who by the law of gratitude becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The perſon obliged is compelled to act the more inſipid part, conſcious that a return of kindneſs is merely a payment, not an obligation. And we alone are ſplendidly beneficent to others, not ſo much from intereſted motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I ſhall ſum up what yet remains, by only adding—that our Athens in general is the ſchool of Greece; and that every ſingle Athenian amongſt us is excellently formed, by his perſonal qualifications, for all the various ſcenes of active life, acting with a moſt graceful demeanor, and a moſt ready habit of diſpatch.

That I have not on this occaſion made uſe of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height, to which by ſuch a conduct this *State* hath roſe, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report;—the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the bluſh of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no diſcontent, as if ſubject to men unworthy to command. That we deſerve our power, we need no evidence to manifeſt. We have great and ſignal proofs of this, which intitle us to the admiration of the preſent and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praiſe; no poet to deck off a

hiſtory with the charms of verſe, where the opinion of exploits muſt ſuffer by a ſtrict relation. Every ſea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have every-where left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendſhip.

In the juſt defence of ſuch a *State*, theſe victims of their own valour, ſcorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely died. And every one of thoſe who ſurvive is ready, I am perſuaded, to ſacrifice life in ſuch a cauſe. And for this reaſon I enlarged ſo much on national points, to give the cleareſt proof, that in the preſent war we have more at ſtake, than men whoſe public advantages are not ſo valuable; and to illuſtrate by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them, who are now my ſubject, and the greateſt part of which they have now received. For the encomiums, with which I have celebrated the *State*, have been earned for it by the bravery of *theſe*, and of men like *theſe*. And ſuch compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if paſſed on any Grecians, but theſe alone. The fatal period, to which theſe gallant ſouls are now reduced, is the ſureſt evidence of their merit —an evidence begun in their lives, and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of juſtice to pay ſuperior honours to men, who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, tho' inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their laſt

laſt ſervice effaceth all former demerits;—it extends to the public: their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of theſe was induced to ſhrink from danger, through fondneſs of thoſe delights which the peaceful affluent life beſtows:—not one was the leſs laviſh of his life, through the flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One paſſion there was in their minds much ſtronger than theſe—the deſire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the moſt honourable prize of dangers, they boldly ruſhed towards the mark, to glut revenge, and then to ſatisfy thoſe ſecondary paſſions. The uncertain event they had already ſecured in hope; what their eyes ſhewed plainly muſt be done, they truſted to their own valour to accompliſh, thinking it more glorious to defend themſelves and die in the attempt, than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice indeed they fled, but preſented their bodies to the ſhock of battle; when, inſenſible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they inſtantly dropt—and thus diſcharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for You, who now ſurvive them—it is your buſineſs to pray for a better fate—but to think it your duty alſo to preſerve the ſame ſpirit and warmth of courage againſt your enemies, not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man, indulging a flow of

 words,

words, may tell you, what you yourſelves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly againſt your enemies—but rather making the daily-increaſing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamoured of it. And, when it really appears great to your apprehenſions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were ſenſible of ſhame; who, whenever their attempts were unſucceſsful, thought it diſhonour their country ſhould ſtand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and ſo made it the moſt glorious *preſent*. Beſtowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praiſe that will never decay, a ſepulchre that will always be moſt illuſtrious—not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their fame is preſerved, to be on every occaſion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. 'This whole earth is the ſepulchre of illuſtrious men; nor is it the inſcription on the columns in their native ſoil alone that ſhews their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inſcriptions, in every foreign nation, repoſited more durably in univerſal remembrance, than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating theſe noble patterns, placing your happineſs in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be laviſh of life is not ſo noble in thoſe whom

whom misfortunes have reduced to miſery and deſpair, as in men who hazard the loſs of a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and the enjoyment of all the bleſſings this world affords, by an unſucceſsful enterprize. Adverſity, after a ſeries of eaſe and affluence, ſinks deeper into the heart of a man of ſpirit, than the ſtroke of death inſenſibly received in the vigor of life and public hope.

For this reaſon, the *Parents* of thoſe who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail,—I ſhall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happineſs belongs to men who have reached the moſt glorious period of life, as theſe now have, who are to you the ſource of ſorrow,—theſe whoſe life hath received its ample meaſure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its concluſion. I know it in truth a difficult taſk to fix comfort in thoſe breaſts, which will have frequent remembrances, in ſeeing the happineſs of others, in what they once themſelves enjoyed. And ſorrow flows not from the abſence of thoſe good things which we have never yet experienced, but from the loſs of thoſe to which we have been accuſtomed. They who are not yet by age exempted from iſſue, ſhould be comforted by the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to ſome, in cauſing them to forget ſuch as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country,

country, in preventing its deſolation, and providing for its ſecurity. For thoſe perſons cannot in common juſtice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expoſe to danger for its ſafety.—But You, whoſe age is already far advanced, compute the greater ſhare of happineſs your longer time hath afforded for ſo much gain, perſuaded in yourſelves, the remainder will be but ſhort, and enlighten that ſpace by the glory gained by *Theſe*. It is greatneſs of ſoul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter ſtage of life, as ſome give out, ſo much as honour.—

To You, the *Sons* and *Brothers* of the deceaſed, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him, who no longer is, every one is ready to commend; ſo that, to whatever height you puſh your deſerts, you will ſcarce ever be thought to equal, but to be ſomewhat inferior to theſe. Envy will exert itſelf againſt a competitor, whilſt life remains; but when death ſtops the competition, affection will applaud without reſtraint.

If after this it be expected for me to ſay any thing to *You*, who are now reduced to a ſtate of Widowhood, about female virtue, I ſhall expreſs it all in one ſhort admonition:—It is your greateſt glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your ſex, and to give the Men as little handle as poſſible

poſſible to talk of your behaviour, whether *well* or *ill*.

I have now diſcharged the province allotted me by the laws, and ſaid what I thought moſt pertinent to this aſſembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children, from this day till they arrive at manhood, ſhall be educated at the public expence of the *State*, which hath appointed ſo beneficial a meed for theſe and all future relicts of the public conteſts. For, wherever the greateſt rewards are propoſed for virtue, there the beſt patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one reſpectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

THE

THE

FUNERAL ORATION

OF

PLATO.

WHATEVER was requiſite to be *done* for theſe brave men, hath been performed on our part: They have received their *Dues*, and are now proceeding on their *fated Journey*, diſmiſſed with theſe public Honours paid to them as well by the whole State, as by their own Families and Friends. But to make theſe honours complete, ſomething remains to be *ſaid*, which not only the Laws require to be rendered unto them, but Reaſon alſo. For an eloquent and well-ſpoken Oration impreſſes on the minds of the audience a laſting admiration of great and virtuous actions. But the preſent occaſion demands an Oration of a particular kind; an Oration that may at one and the ſame time do juſtice to the Dead; animate and ſoothe the Living; excite the Children and Brethren of the Deceaſed to an imitation of their virtues; and adminiſter comfort to the Fathers and the Mothers, and whoever of their remoter Anceſtors are yet alive. And where ſhall we

we find an Orator equal to ſuch a taſk? Or with what Topic ſhall we begin the praiſes of thoſe brave men, who when living made their friends happy by their virtues, and with their deaths purchaſed the ſafety of all who now ſurvive?

As they were in ſome meaſure indebted to nature for their virtue, it is in my opinion neceſſary to begin their Panegyric with an account of their original: for that they were virtuous was owing to their being ſprung of virtuous Anceſtors. Let us then celebrate, in the firſt place, their noble Birth; and in the ſecond, their Nature and Education; and afterwards, by exhibiting their Actions to view, make it appear that *theſe* alſo were virtuous, and ſuch as correſponded to all thoſe advantages.

First then, as to the nobility of their deſcent: They are ſprung from a race of Anceſtors, not adventitious, not tranſplanted from I know not where, but *natives of the ſoil*, dwelling and living really and properly in their own country; nurſed, not like other nations by a ſtep-mother, but a parent, the very land which they inhabited; in which they now lie buried; the ſoil which bred, which nurſed them, and which, as her own, has again received them into her boſom. It is highly reaſonable therefore to beſtow ſome encomiums on this Mother; and the rather, becauſe the nobility of theſe her Children will at the ſame time, and in

the ſame proportion, be illuſtrated and adorned. This Country indeed deſerves to be celebrated by all mankind, not only by us her Children, and that upon many accounts, but principally becauſe ſhe is a favourite of Heaven, of which the rivalry of the Gods, who contended for her, and the deciſion that followed thereupon, is a clear evidence. And how can any mortal reaſonably pretend to refuſe praiſe to that country, which the Gods have vouchſafed to honour? Another topic of Panegyric is this, that at the very time when the earth bred and produced animals of all kinds, both wild and tame, This Country of ours preſerved her purity; refuſed to bring forth ſavage beaſts; and among all animals choſe to produce Man only, who ſurpaſſes the reſt in underſtanding, and who alone hath inſtituted Laws for the obſervation of Juſtice, and the worſhip of the Gods. To what I here advance, that this earth is the genuine parent of our Forefathers, I muſt obſerve, that every thing that brings forth is provided with nouriſhment for what it has produced; and that a Woman is proved to be really and in fact a mother from her being ſupplied with native fountains of nouriſhment for the ſuſtenance of the child. The like ſubſtantial evidence of her having brought forth Man hath this our Country and Mother; for ſhe alone at the ſame time, and ſhe *firſt* produced the uſeful grain of wheat and barley, the proper and the beſt food of man: ſo that it is evident ſhe was the parent of this ſpecies of Animals; and to her

theſe proofs hold more ſtrongly than to a Woman. For this great Mother did not moſt certainly, in breeding and producing, copy after her Daughters, but they after her: neither did ſhe grudge the world theſe her fruits, but generouſly diſpenſed them to other nations. For her children ſhe in the next place brought forth the olive, the ſupport of toil; and after ſhe had thus nouriſhed and reared them up to manhood, ſhe brought them Deities for their Governors and Inſtructors, whoſe names it is unneceſſary to mention in this place.

We all know who furniſhed us with the neceſſaries and ſecurities of life; who inſtructed us in the arts requiſite for our daily ſupport; who gave us, and who taught us the uſe of arms for the defence of our Country. Our Anceſtors, thus born and thus brought up, framed a Government, of which it may not be improper to ſpeak a few words. For Government is the nurſe of men; a good one, of virtuous men; a bad one, of wicked men. That thoſe who went before us were educated under a good government, is neceſſary to ſhew; for indeed it was owing to the advantage of being bred under a good government, that both they and their deſcendants, the fathers of the deceaſed, became virtuous. The form of Government then was, as it now is, an *Ariſtocracy:* Under this form of Government we ſtill live, and for the moſt part have done ſo from that time to this. Let others call it a *Democracy*, or by what name

they pleaſe: It is in truth an *Ariſtocracy* founded on the good-will of the People. We have always had Magiſtrates inveſted with kingly power, ſome of whom were hereditary, others elective: but the People were generally the moſt powerful, and they always beſtowed the authority and power of the ſtate upon thoſe whom they judged the moſt worthy. No man was excluded for the meanneſs, the obſcurity, or the poverty of his family; nor advanced for the contrary qualifications of his Anceſtors, as is practiſed in other ſtates. Their choice was limited to one point. Whoever was eſtemed to be wiſe and good, he had the authority, and he the power. The cauſe of this equal government among us was the equality of our original. For other ſtates are compoſed of men of every country, and of different extractions; whence their governments are unequal; *Tyrannies* or *Oligarchies*, in which one part of the people look upon the other as Slaves, and They upon them as Maſters. But we, who are all Brethren, born of one and the ſame parent, diſdain to be the Slaves or the Lords of one another. On the contrary, the natural equality of our births compelled us to ſeek after a legal equality in our government, and forbad us to yield any ſubjection among ourſelves, excepting only to the Wiſe and Virtuous. Hence it came to paſs, that all our anceſtors, the fathers of the deceaſed, and they themſelves, being thus nobly born, thus nurſed up in liberty, exhibited in all their conduct, as well private as public, a number

number of great and glorious Actions for the ſervice of mankind; thinking it their duty as well to protect *Grecians* againſt *Grecians*, as to maintain the general liberty of Greece againſt all foreign invaders. How they repelled the invaſions of *Eumolpus*, of the *Amazons*, and of other enemies before them, and in what manner they defended the *Argives* againſt the *Thebans*, and the *Heraclides* againſt the *Argives*, the time will not permit me fully to relate: beſides, their virtues having been finely celebrated by the poets in their melodious ſongs, the world hath been already acquainted with them; ſo that we ſhould but diſgrace ourſelves in attempting the ſame ſubjects in ſimple proſe. For theſe reaſons therefore I think proper to paſs over theſe matters. Juſtice hath been done to their merits. But I think myſelf obliged to recall the memory of thoſe exploits, which, worthy as they were, the poets have not thought worthy of their notice, and which are now almoſt buried in oblivion; that, by ſetting forth the praiſes of the great men who performed them, I may woo the poets to admit them into their ſongs and verſes. The chief of theſe are the actions of our forefathers, the children of this ſoil, who held the hands of thoſe Lords of *Aſia*, the *Perſians*, when they attempted to enſlave *Europe*; whoſe virtues therefore in the firſt place deſerve to be commemorated, and to be praiſed. To give their merit its proper luſtre, we ought to take a view of it in that period of time, when all *Aſia* was in ſubjection

to

to the third king of the *Perſian* race. The firſt of theſe was *Cyrus*, who by his own great abilities freed his countrymen the *Perſians*, enſlaved the *Medes* his Maſters, and brought under his dominion the reſt of *Aſia* as far as *Ægypt*. His ſon ſubdued *Ægypt*, and as much of *Libya* as was acceſſible, by his arms. *Darius*, the third king, extended the limits of his empire by his land-forces as far as Scythia, and by his fleets made himſelf maſter of the ſea, and of the iſlands, inſomuch that no one durſt ſtand up in oppoſition to him. The very opinions of mankind ſeem to have been ſubdued; ſo many, ſo powerful, and ſo warlike were the nations which were bowed to the Perſian yoke. This Darius, accuſing us and the Eretrians of an attempt upon Sardis, made that a pretence for ſending an army of 500000 men on board his ſhips and tranſports, and a fleet of 300 ſail; over which he appointed Datis to be general, ordering him, under the forfeiture of his head, to bring back the Eretrians and Athenians captive. Datis ſailing to Eretria, againſt a nation, which of all the Greeks had at that time the greateſt reputation for valour, and was moreover very numerous, ſubdued them in three days; and that none of them might eſcape, he took this method of ſearching the whole Iſland. Cauſing his troops to march to the utmoſt limits of the Eretrians, and extend themſelves from ſea to ſea, he ordered them to join their hands, and ſweep the country, that he might be able to aſſure the king, that not a man had

had eſcaped him. With the like deſign he paſſed from Eretria to Marathon, imagining he had nothing to do but to clap the ſame inevitable yoke upon the neck of the Athenians, and carry them off, as he had done the Eretrians. During theſe tranſactions, part of which were accompliſhed, and part yet in execution, no nation of the Greeks offered to ſtir to the aſſiſtance either of the Eretrians or the Athenians, except the Lacedæmonians, and they did not join us till the day after the battle. The reſt, ſtruck with terror, and preferring their preſent ſafety, kept quiet at home. By this one may form a judgment of the bravery of thoſe men, who received the attack of the Barbarians at Marathon, chaſtiſed the arrogance of Aſia, and were the firſt who erected trophies for their victory over a barbarous enemy; by their example inſtructing others, that the power of Perſia was not invincible, and that wealth and numbers muſt yield to virtue. I call thoſe men, therefore, not our *natural*, but our *civil* Fathers alſo, the fathers of our liberty, and of the liberty of all Europe. For the Grecians, ſurveying this day's work, were taught by their Marathonian maſters to hazard new battles in the defence of their country. Upon theſe, therefore, ought we in reaſon to beſtow the firſt Palm, and give the ſecond to them, who afterwards fought and conquered in the ſea-fights of Salamis and Artemiſium. He who would go over the ſeveral actions of theſe brave men, enumerate the many difficulties they had to ſtruggle with, both

both by Sea and Land, and tell how they ſurmounted them, would have much to ſay. But I ſhall only mention what appears to me to be the greateſt exploit after that of Marathon. For by that victory the Greeks had been only taught, that upon land it was poſſible for a ſmall number of Grecians to overcome a multitude of Barbarians; but that at ſea they were able to effect the ſame thing, was not yet evident. The Perſians had the reputation of being invincible at ſea, by the ſuperiority of their numbers, their riches, their naval ſkill, and ſtrength. Now what is moſt praiſeworthy in thoſe brave men, who ſignalized themſelves at ſea, is, that they did thereby, as it were, looſen thoſe bands of terror, which had held the Grecians ſo faſt bound, and cauſed them no longer to ſtand in awe of numbers, whether of ſhips or men. From theſe two actions, this of Salamis and that of Marathon, all Greece was inſtructed and accuſtomed not to be afraid of the Barbarians, either by land or ſea. The third great exploit for the deliverance of Greece, as well in order as in degree, is the action of Platæa; in the glory of which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an equal part. This great, this arduous enterprize was atchieved, I ſay, by theſe two nations, and for this their merit they are now celebrated by us, and will be by our poſterity to the lateſt times. After this many ſtates of Greece ſtill ſided with the Barbarian, and the King himſelf was reported to have a deſign of invading Greece once more.

It would then be highly unjuſt not to take notice of thoſe alſo, who completed the work of their forefathers, and put the finiſhing hand to our deliverance, by ſcouring the ſeas of every thing that had the name of Barbarian, and driving them within their own limits. Theſe were they, who were engaged in the naval fight at Eurymedon, in the expeditions to Cyprus, to Ægypt, and many other places. Theſe ought we, therefore, to commemorate, and to acknowledge our obligations to them, for having taught the great king to fear, to attend to his own ſafety, and not to be plotting the overthrow of Greece. This war againſt the Barbarians did our commonwealth, with her own forces only, draw out to the very dregs, for her own ſecurity, and that of her Allies. Peace being made, and Athens being now in her higheſt glory, there fell upon her, what is moſt commonly the lot of the ſucceſsful, firſt a rivalry in ſome other ſtates of Greece, and from thence jealouſy, which drew her, tho' unwilling, into a war againſt Grecians: upon the breaking out of which war, the Athenians fought a battle with the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra for the liberties of Bœotia. Tho' the iſſue of this battle was doubtful, yet the following Action proved deciſive: for ſome of the Allies of the Bœotians having deſerted thoſe to whoſe aſſiſtance they came, our Countrymen having on the third day after obtained a victory, we recovered to a ſenſe of their duty thoſe who without reaſon had fallen off from it. Theſe brave men

having fought againſt Grecians for the liberty of Grecians, and delivered thoſe whoſe cauſe they had undertaken to defend, were the firſt after the Perſian war, upon whom the Commonwealth conferred the honour of being buried in this public Cœmetery. After this the war became more general; all Greece fell upon us at once, and ravaged our country, ill requiting the favours they had received from this City. But the Athenians having defeated their enemies in a ſea-fight, and taken priſoners in the iſland of Sphacteria their leaders the Lacedæmonians, when it was in their power to have put them to death, ſpared their lives, forgave them, and made peace with them; thinking, that altho' in a war againſt Barbarians nothing leſs than their utter ruin ſhould be aimed at, yet that in a war between Grecians and Grecians the conteſt ſhould be carried on as far as victory indeed, but that the common intereſt of Greece ought not to be ſacrificed to any particular reſentment. Are not theſe brave men, therefore, worthy to be praiſed, who were engaged in that war, and who now lie buried here? They, who made it appear, if indeed it was a queſtion, whether in the firſt Perſian war another nation was not at leaſt equal to the Athenians: they, I ſay, who made it appear that ſuch a queſtion was intirely groundleſs. Theſe men made the ſuperiority of the Athenians ſufficiently evident, by their coming off victorious in that war, in which all Greece took part againſt them, and worſting in battle, with the forces of Athens

Athens only, thoſe who had ſet themſelves up for the Chiefs of Greece, tho' they could pretend to no more than an equal ſhare with the Athenians in their victories gained over the Barbarians. After the peace aroſe another horrible and unexpected war, in which many brave men fell, who here lie buried. Some of theſe erected many trophies in Sicily; to which country they had ſailed in order to protect the Leontines in their liberties, whom we were bound to aſſiſt by ſolemn treaties. But before they could arrive, the paſſage being long, the Leontines were reduced to extremities, and diſabled from yielding them any aſſiſtance; for which reaſon they gave over the attempt, and were unfortunate; tho' it muſt be owned, their enemies, thoſe againſt whom they came to fight, behaved with ſuch virtue and moderation, that they deſerved far greater praiſe than ſome who were only confederates in that war. Others ſignalized themſelves in the Helleſpont, by taking all the ſhips of the enemy in one day, and by ſeveral other victories. I ſtyled this a horrible and unexpected war, becauſe ſome of the ſtates of Greece carried their enmity to this city ſo far, as to preſume to ſend an embaſſy to the king of Perſia, their and our moſt inveterate enemy, to invite, upon their own particular views, that Barbarian into Greece, whom, for the common cauſe, they had formerly joined with us to drive out of Europe; thus uniting in a league againſt Athens all the Greeks and Barbarians. Upon which occaſion the ſtrength and

valour of this ſtate became moſt conſpicuous. For our enemies looking upon Athens as already vanquiſhed, and having ſeized ſome of our ſhips at Mitylene, Theſe gallant men (for ſo they confeſsedly were) whom we now commemorate, went to their relief with ſixty ſail, and boarding the enemy's ſhips, gained a victory over them, and delivered their own allies, but met with a lot unworthy of their valour; for their bodies were not, as they ought to have been, taken up out of the ſea, but had their burial there. And ſurely they deſerve to be remembered ever with praiſe and honour. For by their valour we came off victorious, not in that engagement only, but throughout the whole war; and through their bravery was it that our commonwealth gained the reputation of being invincible, though attacked by the united forces of all mankind. Neither hath this reputation been falſified in fact. For we were conquered, not by our enemies, but by our own diſſentions. As to Them we remain invincible even to this day. But we have vanquiſhed, have ſubdued ourſelves. After theſe tranſactions, a calm enſuing, and a peace betwixt us and other nations, a civil war broke out, which was carried on in ſuch a manner, that, if by the decree of heaven diſſentions muſt neceſſarily ariſe, a man would pray that his country might be ſo and no otherwiſe diſtempered. For how eaſily, how much like friends and fellow-citizens, did the people of the Piræus, and thoſe of the City, run into a reconciliation with each other! and with how

how much moderation did they lay aſide their hoſtility againſt thoſe of Eleuſis, contrary to the expectations of all Greece! All which is to be aſcribed to no other cauſe than their conſanguinity, the natural baſis of firm and real friendſhip. We ought not therefore to paſs over in ſilence even thoſe, who in this war were ſlain on either ſide; but, as far as in us lies, endeavour to reconcile them to each other; praying and ſacrificing upon theſe occaſions to thoſe Dæmons who have the command and direction over them, inaſmuch as we ourſelves are reconciled. For they did not attack each other out of hatred and malice, but from the malignity of their Fortune. Of this we ourſelves are living evidences, who, being of the ſame common original with them, have forgiven each other, both what we did, and what we ſuffered. After this the city had reſt, and enjoyed a profound peace, eaſily pardoning the Barbarians, who having been ill enough treated by this ſtate, returned it but as they ought. But ſhe could not help reſenting the behaviour of the Greeks, when ſhe called to mind the benefits they had received, and the retribution they made, by uniting with the Barbarians, depriving us of our ſhips, to which they formerly owed their own deliverance, and pulling down our walls, in return for our having ſaved theirs from ruin. The city then having taken the reſolution not to give for the future any aſſiſtance to the Greeks, whether oppreſſed by Grecians or Barbarians, remained quiet: upon which the

Lacedæmonians,

Lacedæmonians, imagining that Athens, the Patroneſs of liberty, was fallen, and that now was the time for them to purſue their proper buſineſs, the enſlaving of others, ſet immediately about it. I need not enlarge upon what followed. Thoſe tranſactions are neither of an ancient date, nor perplexed by a variety of Actors. We all know in what a conſternation the chief ſtates of Greece, the Argives, the Bœotians, the Corinthians, applied to this city for ſuccour; and what was the greateſt miracle of all, that the king of Perſia himſelf was reduced to ſuch a ſtraight, as to have no hopes of ſafety from any other quarter, than from this very city, whoſe deſtruction he had ſo eagerly purſued. And, indeed, if Athens can be juſtly accuſed of any thing, it is of having been always too compaſſionate, too much inclined to ſalve the wounds of the afflicted. For at this very time ſhe was not able to perſevere, and to keep to her reſolution, of not aſſiſting thoſe in the preſervation of their liberties, who had maliciouſly and deſignedly injured her. She yielded, ſhe aſſiſted them, and by that aſſiſtance reſcued them from ſlavery, and gave them their liberty, till they ſhould think fit to enſlave themſelves again. She had not indeed the aſſurance to act ſo prepoſterous a part, as to ſend the king of Perſia any ſuccours; ſhe bore too great a reverence to the trophies of Marathon, of Salamis, and Platæa: yet by conniving at the aſſiſtance given him by Fugitives, and ſuch as voluntarily entered into his ſervice, ſhe was confeſſedly

feſſedly the cauſe of his preſervation. At this time ſhe repaired her fortifications and her fleets, and prepared again for war; finding herſelf under the neceſſity of entering into one with the Lacedæmonians, for the protection of the Parians. The king of Perſia, on his part, as ſoon as he ſaw the Lacedæmonians had given over all thoughts of carrying on a war by ſea, took umbrage at the Athenians; and reſolving to break the peace, demanded thoſe Grecian ſtates, which were upon the continent of Aſia, to be delivered up to him (thoſe very ſtates which the Lacedæmonians had formerly conſented to give up) as the condition of his continuing his amity with us and our allies. This Demand he did not imagine would be complied with, and he made it only that he might, upon its being rejected, have a fair pretence for breaking the treaty. But he was miſtaken as to ſome of his Allies; for the Corinthians, the Argives, and the Bœotians determined to comply with his demand, and even entered into a treaty with him, which they confirmed upon oath, to give up the Greeks upon the continent of Aſia, provided he would furniſh them with money. But we, and we alone, had not the aſſurance to abandon thoſe ſtates, much leſs to ſwear to ſuch a treaty. That the city of Athens is ſo ſpirited and ſo frank, ſo conſtant and ſo hearty in the common cauſe, and as it were by nature ſo averſe to the Barbarian, muſt be aſcribed to her being wholly Greek, without any mixture of foreign alloy. For none of your

foreign

foreign Heroes, Pelops, Cadmus, Ægyptus, Danaus, and many others, who, though living under Grecian Laws, were Barbarians by extraction; none of theſe, I ſay, are of the number of our Citizens. We are genuine Greeks, no Half-Barbarians. Hence proceeds the genuine and unadulterated enmity of Athens to all Barbarians. Wherefore we were once more left alone, for refuſing to do an action ſo infamous and ſo impious, as that of delivering up Grecians into the hands of Perſians. But being reſtored to what we had been deprived of in the former war, by the aſſiſtance of Heaven we proſecuted this with more ſucceſs. For becoming once again maſters of a fleet, having rebuilt our walls, and recovered our colonies, we were ſoon freed from a war, which our enemies were very glad to get rid of. In this war we loſt indeed many gallant men, ſome at Corinth by the diſadvantage of their ſituation, others at Lechæum by treachery. Nor were they leſs gallant, who ſaved the king of Perſia, and drove the Lacedæmonians out of the ſeas. Theſe are the men I would call to your remembrance, and in honouring and praiſing ſuch as Theſe it becomes all of you to join.

Such were the exploits of thoſe brave men, who here lie buried; ſuch were the exploits of thoſe others alſo, who, though unhappily deprived of burial, died like them in the ſervice of their country: exploits many and great indeed, as hath been related;

lated; but more and ſtill greater yet remain untold; to enumerate all which many whole days and nights would ſcarce ſuffice. It is the duty therefore of all and of every particular man to bear theſe things in mind, and, as in battle, to exhort the children of ſuch Fathers not to quit their rank, in which their anceſtors have placed them, by a baſe and cowardly retreat. Accordingly, I myſelf, O ye Sons of virtuous men, do now exhort you, and, as long as I ſhall remain among you, will never ceaſe reminding and exhorting you, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to ſurpaſs them in virtue. But upon this occaſion it is my duty to tell you what your Fathers, when they were going to expoſe their lives for their country, commanded us to ſay to thoſe whom they left behind, in caſe any accident ſhould befall themſelves. I will repeat to you what I heard from their own mouths, and what, if I may judge from the diſcourſe they then held, they would now gladly ſay to you themſelves, were it in their power. Imagine therefore you hear them ſpeaking. Theſe were their words:

"O Children! That ye are Sons of virtuous Fathers, is evident from our preſent circumſtances. For having it in our option to live with diſhonour, we have generouſly made it our choice to die, rather than bring ourſelves and our poſterity into diſgrace, and reflect infamy back upon our parents and forefathers; perſuaded as we were, that the life of one who diſhonours his family, is not worth

living, and that ſuch a man can have no friend either here upon Earth among mankind, or among the Gods hereafter in the realms below. It behoves you therefore to bear theſe our words in remembrance, to the end that all your undertakings may be accompanied with virtue; aſſuring yourſelves, that without virtue every acquiſition, every purſuit is baſe and infamous. For wealth can add no dignity to an unmanly mind. The riches of ſuch an one are for others, not for himſelf. Neither are beauty and ſtrength of Body, when joined with baſeneſs and cowardice, to be deemed ornamental, but diſgraceful rather; ſince, if they make a man more conſpicuous, they at the ſame time make the baſeneſs of his Soul conſpicuous alſo. Wiſdom, in like manner, ſeparated from Juſtice and the reſt of the virtues, is not Wiſdom, but Cunning. Wherefore in the firſt place, and in the laſt, and throughout the whole courſe of your lives, it is incumbent upon you to labour with all your faculties to ſurpaſs us and your progenitors in glory. Otherwiſe be well aſſured, that in this conteſt of virtue, if we remain victorious, the victory will cover us with confuſion, which, on the contrary, if obtained by you, will make us happy. The moſt effectual way for you to ſurpaſs us, and obtain this victory, is ſo to order your conduct, as neither to abuſe nor waſte the glory left you by your Anceſtors. For can any thing be more ignominious for a man, who would be thought ſomething, than to receive honour, not from

from his own merit, but from the reputation of his forefathers? Hereditary honour is indeed a noble and ſplendid Patrimony. But to enjoy a fair eſtate either in fame or money, or for want of a proper ſupply of wealth and glory of your own, not to be able to tranſmit it to your poſterity is infamous and unmanly. If you endeavour after theſe things, you will be welcome to us and we to you, whenever your reſpective fates ſhall conduct you to us in the world below: but if you diſregard them, and become profligate, not one of us ſhall be willing to receive you. Thus much be ſpoken to our Children: But to our Fathers and our Mothers, if any of them ſhould ſurvive us, and it ſhould be thought neceſſary to adminiſter comfort to them, ſay, that it is their duty patiently to bear misfortunes, whenever they happen, and not to give themſelves up to grief: otherwiſe they will never be without ſorrow; for the ordinary occurrences of life will afford ſufficient matter for affliction. They ſhould ſeek to heal and mitigate their troubles in the remembrance, that, as to the moſt conſiderable point, the Gods have heard their prayers. For they did not pray that their Children might be immortal, but virtuous and renowned. And This, the greateſt of all bleſſings, they have obtained. It is not eaſy for mortal man to have every thing fall out according to his wiſhes in this life. Beſides, by bearing their misfortunes with reſolution and fortitude, they will gain the opinion of being the genuine parents of magnanimous children, and

of being themſelves men of courage and magnanimity; whereas, by ſinking under their ſorrows, they will raiſe a ſuſpicion of their not being our Fathers, or Thoſe who ſhall praiſe us will be thought to have moſt groſsly flattered us; neither of which things ought to come to paſs. They themſelves rather ſhould bear chief teſtimony to our praiſe, ſhewing by their actions that they are indeed Men, and the Fathers of Men. The old proverb, *Not too much of any thing*, ſeems to be well ſaid, and in fact it is ſo. For he, who hath within himſelf all that is neceſſary to happineſs, or near the matter, and who doth not ſo depend upon other men, as to have himſelf and his affairs in a perpetual fluctuation, according to their good or ill conduct, He, I ſay, is beſt provided for this life; He is moderate, He is prudent, He is a Man; and He upon all occaſions, whether he obtains or loſes an eſtate or children, will pay the greateſt regard to this Proverb: for, placing all his confidence in himſelf, he will neither be too much elevated with joy, or too much depreſſed with ſorrow. Such men we ſhould think worthy to be our Fathers; ſuch we wiſh them to be, and ſuch we affirm they are; ſuch likewiſe are we now proved to be, by neither murmuring nor trembling at death, tho' we were to meet it this inſtant. And this ſame ſtate of mind do we now recommend to our Fathers and our Mothers; intreating them to make uſe of ſuch ſentiments as theſe thro' the remaining part of their lives; and to be perſuaded, that they will do

do us the greateſt pleaſure, by not weeping and lamenting for us; that, if the Dead have any knowledge of what paſſes among the Living, their afflicting themſelves, and bearing their misfortunes heavily, will be very unacceptable to us; whereas, on the contrary, their bearing their afflictions lightly, and with moderation, will be moſt pleaſing. Our lives and actions are now going to have an end; but ſuch an end, as among Men is deemed moſt glorious; which therefore ought rather to be graced with honour, than ſullied with lamentations. By taking care of our wives and children, by educating the latter, and turning themſelves and their minds wholly to ſuch-like employments, they will the more readily forget their misfortunes, and lead a life more exemplary, more agreeable to reaſon, and more acceptable to us. Let this ſuffice to be ſpoken on our part to our relations and friends. To the Commonwealth we recommend the care of our Parents and Children; beſeeching Her to give Theſe an honourable education, and to cheriſh Thoſe in their old age, in a manner worthy of them: but we are ſenſible that, without this recommendation, all proper care will be taken of them."

THESE things, O Children, and ye Parents of the deceaſed, have they given me in charge to ſay to you on their part; and I have moſt willingly, and to the beſt of my power, executed their commands. On my own part, and for their ſakes, I

beſeech you, ye Sons! to imitate your Fathers; You, Fathers, to take comfort for the loſs of theſe your Sons; aſſuring yourſelves, that both in our public and in our private capacities, we will take care of you and cheriſh your old-age, as the reſpective duties and relations of every one of us may require. Ye yourſelves well know what proviſions the Commonwealth hath made; that by expreſs laws ſhe hath ordered care to be taken of the children and parents of thoſe, who die in battle; and hath given it in charge to the chief magiſtrate, to take them, above all others, into his particular protection; that the latter may be guarded from all injuries, and the former not be ſenſible of their orphan ſtate, nor feel the want of a father, whoſe place the commonwealth ſupplies, by aſſiſting in the care of their education while they are children, and, when they are grown up to manhood, diſmiſſing them to their ſeveral vocations with an honourable preſent of a complete ſuit of armour. And this ſhe does, not only with a view of intimating to them, and reminding them of the occupations of their fathers, by preſenting them with thoſe implements of valour, which their fathers had ſo gloriouſly employed; but alſo that being arrived to the full ſtrength, and furniſhed with the armour of a Man, when they firſt go to take poſſeſſion of their Houſhold-Gods, they may ſet out with a good omen. Moreover, ſhe fails not from time to time to pay theſe anniverſary honours to the Deceaſed; taking upon her to perform

form in general, with regard to them, whatever is due to each from their reſpective relations; and to complete all, by exhibiting games of different kinds, equeſtrian and gymnaſtic, muſical and poetical, ſhe effectually ſupplies the offices of Sons and Heirs to Fathers, of Fathers to Sons, and that of Guardians and Protectors to their Parents and Kindred; diſcharging at all times all and every part of the duties that belong to All. Learn, therefore, by reflecting upon theſe things, to bear your afflictions with more patience; for by ſo doing you will act the moſt friendly part as well to the dead as to the living, and be better able to give and receive comfort, to cheriſh and aſſiſt each other. And now having jointly paid the tribute of your ſorrow to the Deceaſed, as the law directs, you may all depart.

FINIS.

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